1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

FOOD PREPARATION 1

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Preparing flour for bread-making, Teririn, Taghauth

Grinding flour in a hand-mill; Tiguisas, Ghomara

[354]

Frying bread in an earthen skillet, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Typical bake-oven, Ulad Abekar, Taghauth

[p. 56 (a)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

fartata, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *fartata* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *akhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imedurar of Gzennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghsuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *thamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the marcb or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbajuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbajuth misirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guas*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guas* may be purely vegetable or may

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[942] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-
755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [341] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of 351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground [251] silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta 1930, passim.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[10] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[11] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[12]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[13] Butane and electrical appliances are

[10] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[11] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[12] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[13] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

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most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.,* traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.